Walter's Witch Mania

A Special Report on the New 1957 Un-American Activities Committee Report, Pages 2 & 3

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Eisenhower *Bey* Had Better Hurry Home

Washington, like the Middle East, seems to suffer from absentee landlordism. Ike spends as little time in the White House as Egypt's feudal *beys* and pashas were (to their undoing) accustomed to spend on *their* estates. The system under which Mr. Eisenhower, through his faithful Mameluke, Mr. James Hagerty, runs the old plantation by long distance phone from the better quail preserves of Georgia while Mr. Dulles makes foreign policy is breaking down. Mr. Dulles himself was never more unpopular in Congress. His disingenuous replies on the question of newspapermen's passports for China and his slippery performance at the hearings in both houses on the Middle East resolution have reduced his reputation to a new low, and the coming Senate debate will reduce it further. The 20-8 vote with which it was reported and its last minute amendment foreshadow a fight long enough considerably to deflate its importance. The resolution at the moment seems bound to pass eventually, but its repercussions are likely to make Mr. Dulles's further tenure as Secretary of State a short one. No one seems to trust him, left, right or center. When Senator Long (*D. La.*), always sober in speech, told the Senate with exasperation last Monday, "As one Senator who in good faith tried to cooperate with the Secretary, I found him to be one of the least candid and most evasive witnesses we have ever examined", no one on the Republican side rose to contradict him.

A Case for the Dietary Laws

Under the circumstances Nasser has done Israel a favor by rejecting in advance the so-called Dulles plan for opening the Gulf of Akaba to shipping and preventing a resumption of *fedayeen* raids from Gaza. It is difficult enough to pin Mr. Dulles down when he makes a public statement. It is more hazardous to rely on him when all the public gets is the filtered reflection of what some unnamed State Department official at a private briefing for selected Washington correspondents *said* Mr. Dulles said. When the best of them, James Reston, reports in the *New York Times* (Feb. 12) tongue-in-cheek surely that "the State Department has no evidence of any serious interference by Egypt with Israeli shipping in the Gulf of Akaba" and adds "precisely how the U.S. Government would react to any violation in the Gulf of Akaba remains to be determined. . . ." Israel would be well advised to abide by the dietary laws and beware of buying a *goyische* pig in a poke. Senator Morse (*D. Ore.*) in a speech to the Senate the day of that briefing urged Israel "not to give an inch" because "its very survival" is at stake, and added "I think Israel has had enough experience thus far with the Secretary of State of the United States so that certainly Israel should not 'fall' for any more of his double talk." This harsh judgment, too, went unchallenged.

Blanking Out The Constitution

"The Administration . . . asks for a blank grant of power over our funds and Armed Forces, to be used in a blank way, for a blank length of time, under blank conditions, with respect to blank nations, in a blank area. We are asked to sign this blank check in perpetuity. . . . History will demonstrate that the periods of greatest danger to the rights of the people, in a democracy, are those periods when adulation for a popular idol diverts their attention momentarily from the implications of their actions."

—Fulbright (D. Ark.), U.S. Senate, Feb. 11.

No defense of Mr. Dulles came, of course, from the man who is still known whimsically as the minority leader of the Senate. Two years ago Senator Knowland (*R. Cal.*) was calling the Secretary of State "boss." Now he has been utilizing Mr. Dulles' unpopularity to make himself the leader of the most curious majority coalition the Senate has seen in a long time. Knowland seized on Mr. Dulles's hint a week earlier to the Asian-African bloc that the U.S. would have to consider sanctions seriously if voted. He took a leaf from the Secretary's own oleaginous manipulation of morality. It was a stroke of political genius for Knowland to declare that it would be a "double standard" and "immoral" to apply sanctions to a small country in partial compliance with UN resolutions "while side-stepping the question of sanctions on a larger aggressor" which had "totally ignored" all the resolutions "on the crime against Hungary." On this formulation Knowland rallied a majority of the Senate, from the old-time isolationists and the anti-Soviet bitter enders through faithful Eisenhower Republicans like Ives and Flanders to liberals like Morse, Humphrey and Javits. Men who were skittish about opposing a resolution opposed to Communist aggression found this juxtaposition of Israel and Hungary an attractively safe vehicle for expressing their dissatisfaction. They could be anti-Ike and still anti-Communist. If ours were a parliamentary government, Knowland would have forced the resignation of the Cabinet on the issue. As it is, he compelled the Administration to abandon its plans to be "forced" to join in imposing sanctions.

It is a pity that as sweeping a majority cannot be mustered against the resolution and in favor of a positive policy. But to ask a Senator to vote against a resolution warning the Russians not to commit aggression, even if no one expects it, is like asking him to vote against a resolution against chastity. Even the hearts of the bravest quail at the thought of how they could explain it come election time. The opposition, as was demonstrated by the voting inside the joint Senate Committees seems

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Is the Country Purer Than Ivory Soap, or On The Verge of Being Taken Over?

Chairman Walter (Like Wm. Z. Foster) Bullish on Leftism in America

In some ways the Left may find the new report of the House Un-American Activities Committee an encouraging document. It will be heartening, in browsing through it, to learn on page 34, for example, that "Henry Wallace . . . received over ten million votes in the 1948 national election." The figure mistakenly reported hitherto in such publications as the World Almanac was 1,156,103.

The Committee is fond of multiplying things by ten. We would not be surprised to learn after a few more years of its researches that Vincent Hallinan, the Progressive Party candidate in 1952, really received 1,326,080 votes and not the 132,608 with which he has been credited.

The Committee does not limit itself to mechanical multiplication. It is creative. Like the FBI, it multiplies the number of Communist party members by ten, to reach a grand total of 200,000 subversives. But it does not rest content with this arithmetic.

It would be dangerous to do so. Some readers might take out their paper and pencil, and make this kind of a computation. They might take the population of the U.S. roughly as 160,000,000.

Another of Walter's Discoveries

"The evidence adduced at the hearings established that there is not, and never has been, in the entertainment industry any practice of depriving people of employment because of 'political affiliations or beliefs,' but that a number of people who have been identified as Communists or active on behalf of Communism have been refused access to mass mediums of communications."

—p. 25, '57 Report, Un-American Activities Committee.

One percent of 160,000,000 is 1,600,000. Half of that, or half of one percent, is 800,000. Half of that, or one quarter of one percent, is 400,000. Half of that, or one-eighth of one percent, is 200,000.

According to that computation, only one-eighth of one percent of the people of the United States are subversive even by the standards of Congressman Walter and J. Edgar Hoover. If only one-eighth of one percent are subversive, then 99 and 88/100th percent are pure. This is better than Ivory Soap, which only claims to be 99 and 44/100th percent pure. How pure can a country get?

Chairman Walter approaches the problem differently.

Without Jury Trial or Counsel!

The House Committee on Un-American Activities Committee in its 1957 annual report discloses that at an executive session last June 2, it heard two witnesses, Joseph Schoemehl and the Rev. Obadiah Jones, "both of whom served as informants for the FBI within the Communist party."

The Committee charges (P. 45) that when Schoemehl was called before a Party Review Commission in 1950 on suspicion of being an FBI plant, his trial "was cloaked in secrecy, and the defendant was not given benefit of counsel, nor was there a jury."

We hope the American Civil Liberties Union will investigate. On due process grounds alone Mr. Schoemehl seems entitled to reinstatement with back pay.

In his preface to the annual report, Chairman Walter admits "Numerically, the membership of the Communist Party has declined considerably during the past few years. . . ." But, he continues, "Anyone who thinks that Communism in the United States no longer constitutes a serious menace should consider that at this moment on American soil are the equivalent of 20 combat divisions of enemy troops engaged in propaganda, espionage, subversion, and loyal only to the Soviet Union."

When startled reporters went to the Committee's offices for more light on this horrifying revelation, they were told that this was based on the Pentagon's own official figures and that in fact this army of subversives "far outnumbered" the American troops on home duty.

This led to an interesting statistical hassle at the Pentagon. The Pentagon admitted that the nine divisions on duty in the U.S. and its possessions comprised about 158,000 troops, but insisted that with supplemental forces it could muster 350,000.

For *aficionadoes* of the Committee, however, the admission will be enough. As Chairman Walter paints the picture, there are "20 combat divisions" of subversives in this country as against only nine Army divisions. Even the Pentagon admits that the total number of troops it claims in its nine divisions are 42,000 less than the number in Chairman Walter's divisions.

From this we can only conclude that any moonless night, on signal, the U.S. Army might be overpowered and we might all wake up next morning nationalized. Thus, by Chairman Walter's gifted computations, using the same figures, the country instead of being 99 and 88/100 percent pure is so menaced by disloyalty that it is on the verge of being taken over, its armed forces outnumbered by the enemy.

Who's Infiltrating Whom?

We had assumed from past reports that Communists were anxious to infiltrate the government. But a revelation in the 1957 report of the House Un-American Activities Committee leaves us confused. The report devotes considerable space to the testimony in Denver last year of Bellarmino Duran, whom it describes as "one of the many patriotic Americans who have devoted years of their lives as undercover agents for the F. B. I."

A subject on which Mr. Duran gave the Committee the benefit of his inside knowledge was the security system set up by the Communists to avoid detection and infiltration. One of the methods used (p. 38) by the Party in what Mr. Duran called its "obsession with secrecy" was to check carefully whether any of its members "had relatives in the Federal government or local government or newspapers or radio." Apparently the Communists with whom Mr. Duran dealt were as suspicious of members with relatives in the government, as the government has been of employes with relatives in the Communist party. It seems to be getting harder all the time to plant such people in the party.

Can it be that some day a young man will have a better chance to get a government job if he can show that grandpa is an old-time member of the CP, in a position to slip him a little inside stuff now and then?

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A Report on The House Un-American Activities Comittee's 1957 Report

Nothing Like It Since Cotton Mather Exposed Satan's Wiles in Salem

"It cost the Court a wonderful deal of Trouble, to hear the Testimonies of the Sufferers; for when they were going to give in their Depositions, they would for a long time be taken with fitts, that made them uncapable of saying any thing. The Chief Judge asked the prisoner, who he thought hindred these witnesses from giving their testimonies? and he answered, He supposed it was the Divel. That Honourable person then reply'd, How comes the Divel so loathe to have any Testimony born against you? Which cast him into very great confusion."

—The Tryal of G.B. [the Rev. George Burroughs]. At a Court of Oyer and Terminer, Held in Salem, 1692.

All that we have discussed on page two would be funny if the Committee did not take it all so seriously. Any psychiatrist who reads this report will see that it is not the product of cynical minds but of people who are on the verge of hysteria. Chairman Walter ends his preface by saying apocalyptically, "It is but a brief interval that still remains for us to elect survival—or extinction." The report itself ends by saying that "unless we meet the total challenge of Communist unconventional war, we shall assuredly condemn ourselves to the Arctic hell of Siberian slave labor camps." Men who can write this way at a moment when Russia and the Communist movement have never been so discredited, when the satellite system is beginning to break up, and when the American Communists are a hunted and divided handful, are as sick as the men who made Salem a synonym for witch mania three centuries ago.

There is hardly a page which does not have some trace of neuroticism. Here we find the Committee quoting with approval testimony that Gomulka is dedicated to the complete Sovietization of Poland. There we have Chairman Walter saying that Communism's "methodology has become more cunning" and find that all these big words refer to is nothing more novel than the filing of a brief *amicus curiae* in the Supreme Court. There are plots everywhere: "a mammoth nationwide campaign . . . to paralyze the security programs", "an organized effort . . . to disrupt and break down" passport regulations. The Committee has no trouble in finding witnesses who have seen with their own eyes old ladies flying over the church steeple on a broom, like the FBI informant who told of being driven around in St. Louis by a strange man from New York with a *Daily Worker* press card who "operated under the name of Whirlwind Larson." (Could it have been *Superman?*). This informant boasted how with a few explosives in the local light company, "I could blow it, blow it up out of the ground and keep it blown up." Whee!

The Un-American Activities Committee some day will have a final resting place in the annals of political psychiatry. But in the meantime its sloppy, unfair, and inaccurate compilations are taken seriously in the courts and solemnly consulted by community groups. To oppose its recommendations is to help the Reds, and to help the Reds is to put oneself beyond the pale. Its recommendations once they get through to the House floor are practically unbeatable. Here we have a whole set of new ones: to authorize wiretaps and other technical means of surveillance (all's fair against the wiles of Satan), to restrict the right of travel (Walter is a one-man Iron Curtain, as head of the Immigration subcommittee he works to keep 'em out and as head of the Un-American committee he works to keep 'em in; he's a menace to the travel business), and to lengthen the statute of limitations and increase the penalties for all kinds of political misdeeds, especially those witches and warlocks are prone to commit. We will report more fully later on the Committee's bills but suggest that in the meantime there is no better way to educate your neighbors on just how *wacky* this committee is than by circulating its own report.

Verdict First, Trial Later

Last June 7 in a public statement announcing hearings of the Fund for the Republic, Chairman Walter asked with finely balanced impartiality, "Is this foundation . . . a friend or a foe in our Nation's death struggle against the Communist conspiracy?" In his preface to the 1957 report, Walter accuses the Fund of giving "great aid and comfort to the Communist apparatus." The report itself quotes with approval testimony by representatives of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars calling the Fund a "fraud" and a "tool." But for those who wonder like Elmo Roper, head of the Fund, when it will be allowed to present its side of the story, the report says "Staff investigations have not yet been completed, and the general public hearings on the Fund for the Republic have not as yet been scheduled." We wonder how many more times the Committee will find the Fund guilty before venturing to give it a hearing.

Why Not A Subpoena for the DAR?

"The activity of the Communist Party working within the Mexican community was to agitate the aspirations of the Mexican people in this spontaneous stampede to show the government was not willing to accept them [as fully American]. . . ."

—Bellarmino Duran, an FBI informer, quoted in the 1957 report of the Un-American Activities Committee from its Denver hearings last May.

"I wouldn't want a Mexican boy to carry 'Old Glory,' would you?"

—Mrs. Charlotte C. Rush, chairman of the Denver D.A.R.'s Committee on Patriotic Education, in the statement Feb. 11 which forced cancellation of a Lincoln's Birthday celebration at the Colorado Industrial School for Boys.

Travel Restrictions Asked Even on Americans "Neither Communist nor Subversive"

"Glaring instances have come to the attention of the Committee of certain foreign travel by nationals of this country, neither Communist nor subversive, at times, in areas, and under circumstances rendering such foreign travel against the best interests of this country. In the opinion of the Committee, serious consideration should be given to the extension of legislation governing the issuance of passports coming within this category."

—p. 56, Un-American Activities Committee Report for 1957.

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Without A Big Four Arms Embargo, the Arabs Can Bid East Against West

Mid-Eastern Realities Make Negotiations With Moscow Inescapable

(*Continued from Page One*)

incapable of uniting on any alternative more substantial than the hair split at the last minute by substituting "prepared" for "authorized" in the resolution. Some, like Byrd (*D. Va.*), object only to spending more money. Others, like Fulbright (*D. Ark.*), see the dangers in giving the President another blank check for war. The leadership of both Houses, being from Texas, are all for a program which would buy friends for the oil tycoons at the Treasury's expense. The Democrats outside Congress are as divided as the Democrats within; Mr. Truman is positively cult-of-personality in his attitude toward the Presidency, and implies that it possesses a Higher Knowledge (the CIA?) which compels us docilely to acquiesce in whatever the White House asks, though there is little Allen W. Dulles tells Eisenhower between holes which he couldn't get more accurately by subscribing to a good daily paper.

If They Were As Close to Texas

The most serious limitation of all is the unwillingness of even the bravest in the Senate to recognize that we cannot treat the Middle East as a private preserve, that not only equity but political realities must force an attempt to negotiate an over-all settlement in the area with the Russians. The Middle East requires reconciliation of natural interests on three levels —between Arab and Israeli, between Western Europe and the Arabs astride the transit facilities and oil it needs, and between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. If the Russians had bomber bases as close to the Texas oil fields, as Dharhan is to Baku, we'd make trouble, too. The principles put forward in the new Russian note are caricatured by Moscow's own recent actions in Hungary, including the note's reference to the natural resources of underdeveloped countries as "the inalienable national property of the people of these countries." (Hungary is still smoldering with resentment because it cannot sell its uranium for hard currency but must give it to the Russians for a price which has still not been disclosed to its people). But the statement of these principles will prove attractive nonetheless to the Arabs, and the Russian offer to join in an arms embargo on the Middle East is worth negotiating. The alternative is to let the Arabs bid East against West, and to risk the outbreak of a war between them and Israel which would be difficult to contain.

It is because they can turn to Moscow that Ibn Saud and Nasser continue to outwit and out-bargain the U.S.A. The final communique issued by the President and King Saud will draw a laugh in the bazaars when the Arabs see how neatly it was worded to sidestep approval of the Eisenhower Doctrine. While Eisenhower "explained" his doctrine, Saud did no more than receive this "exposition" with "satisfaction." Far from being anxious to prevent an arms race, the Administration is almost abject in its offer of the arms with which it hopes to buy the Arab States. Everywhere else in the world, American arms can be obtained only with strings attached but to the Arabs the new "Eisenhower Doctrine" would offer them unconditionally. It should particularly be noted that the statutory arms aid conditions waived under the new Mid-East resolution include those which forbid the recipients to transfer these arms to other nations without permission, and to use them for other than defensive purposes. This is another reason Israel should be wary.

Instead of An Arms Race

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think a moratorium on all arms would be more appropriate than a program of arming everybody, if such a program could be successfully applied. Of course, it would require some cooperation from Russia, and I do not know whether that is possible. But I also do not know whether our administration has ever tried such an approach.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I do not know either. If we act on the request as provided in the resolution now being considered by the two committees, what will prevent the Soviet Union from doing the same thing?

Mr. FULBRIGHT. I think we would supply them with example and precedent. In that sense the resolution may well be considered as a challenge to them to do the same thing.

—On the Mid-East Resolution, U.S. Senate, Feb. 11

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